

CHAPTER XXI.

LANGUAGES.

DOGRİ — CHINĀĪ — THE PAJĀBĪ DIALECTS AND KASHMĪRĪ — DĀND DIALECTS — THE TIBETAN — USE OF PERSIAN — WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

I GIVE below an enumeration of thirteen languages, or dialects, spoken within the Jummoo and Kashmir territories. It would be possible, no doubt, to make a greater number of subdivisions, since the speech is apt to vary in these mountain countries within very short distances; the greater number of subdivisions one makes, the less, of course, will be the difference between any two adjoining ones; in the present list, between most of those named, the differences are very marked indeed. It will be seen that for the Language Map I have massed some of the dialects into groups, for each of which groups I have used one tint. These tints may be taken as showing what languages or groups of dialects so far differ as to be mutually incomprehensible. On that principle the thirteen dialects are classed under five different languages. This classification is practical and useful, and the marked geographical boundaries of those groups enabled me to ascertain their distribution with accuracy. But, to show out the relationship of the fourteen dialects, the classification is better which is indicated by the bracketing on the left-hand side of the list, where, all the Pajābī dialects and Kāshmirī being put together, *four* great groups are constituted.

The following is the list:

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).	
Dogri	One colour on the Language Map.
Chimhālī	One colour on the Language Map.
Rāmānī	
Budāwānī	One colour on the Language Map, under the name Pajābī.
Pādānī	
Dialect of Doda ..	
Kashmirī	
Kāshmirī	One colour on the Language Map.

ARYAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION)—continued.

Dānd ..	One colour on the Language Map.
<div> <div> Dialect of Dāt ..</div> <div>Dialect of Astor, Gurez, and Dhas</div> <div>Dialect of Gilgit</div> </div>	

TURANIAN (SOUTHERN DIVISION).

Tibetan	<div> <div>Language of Baltistan and Ladākh</div> <div>Language of the Chāmpās</div> </div>	One colour on the Language Map.
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DOGRİ.

DOGRİ differs considerably from Hindostānī (that dialect of India which has, under British rule, become the most diffused of all), but whether or not to such a degree as would justify us in calling it a distinct language I can hardly say. If a native of Hindostān, who had never come farther north than Ambāla, were to go where pure Dogrī is spoken, into the heart, say, of the Outer Hills, he would not be able to understand any but the shortest sentences, and by no means all of these; with some difficulty, he would make himself understood for simple matters.

The relationship of Panjābī to Hindostānī is very similar, while there is a difference between Dogrī and Panjābī which is not so great as that between either of them and Hindostānī. Many points of difference from this last are common to Dogrī and Panjābī; for instance, the use of the short *a* in several words which in Hindostānī would have the long *ā*, thus the Hindostānī *hāth* (hand) and *kām* (work) become in both Dogrī and Panjābī *hath* and *kam*; the not infrequent use in these last dialects of *h* where Hindostānī would have *b*, as in *vi*, twenty (in Hindostānī *bis*), is another instance. Of those *grammatical forms* in Dogrī that vary from Hindostānī about half are the same as Panjābī and half are different from either. In some points (e.g. in the imperfect of the verb *to be*) Dogrī resembles Hindostānī where Panjābī differs from it.

In Appendix I. I have given a Grammar of Dogrī. The structure of that language is such that it is possible to take a Hindostānī grammar, and, without recasting it, replace the Hin-

dostāni with Dogri forms. This indeed is very nearly what I have done in making this short Grammar, taking Forbes' Hindostāni Grammar as the model.*

I am unable to compare with any exactitude the Dogri with the other languages in respect of their vocabularies as a whole. In Appendix II. a few words are given in Dogri and some other dialects; these are some of those recommended by Sir George Campbell (in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), as well fitted to try the relationship of various languages.

This Dogri is spoken by the village people of the Outer Hills and of the strip of plain at their foot, from the Rāvi to a little west of the Chināb.† It is spoken purest by those who have not come much into contact with other races; especially is it to be heard pure and unmixed from the mouths of the women, who, from their seclusion and little intercourse with strangers, are the most likely to preserve the indigenous speech. In the towns, but especially in Jammu, one hears a mixture of Dogri, Panjābi, and Hindostāni. Of the officers of the Maharaja's Court, very few, if any, speak pure Dogri; some, indeed, hail from the Panjāb, and speak their own Panjābi with some Dogri mixed; others have by contact with those who live in the British territory (where Hindostāni is sure to be much heard, even where it is not the vernacular) got an admixture of Hindostāni; indeed almost every one of the Court speaks a mixture of the three above-named dialects, in proportions varying for each person.

CHIBHALL.

The Chibhālī dialect differs from Dogri by no means so much as Dogri does from Hindostāni, but perhaps in the same degree as it does from Panjābi. One would not, indeed, on looking over the few words I have put down in Appendix II., think that there was any important difference between Dogri and Chibhālī, but

* I have been much helped by Sonā, Brahman, who has a critical knowledge of Dogri. The incompleteness and imperfections of the Grammar are due to my not having taken as much advantage of his assistance as I should like to have done.

† Eastward of the Rāvi, the people of the Outer Hills have a speech closely allied to if not identical with our Dogri.

these two languages in *notion* have a greater amount of difference, one that is very striking to the ear.

Chibhālī is closely allied to that form of Panjābi which is spoken west of the Jhelam, in the country called Pothwār;* this latter (which the natives call Pothwār) I shall speak of as Western Panjābi.

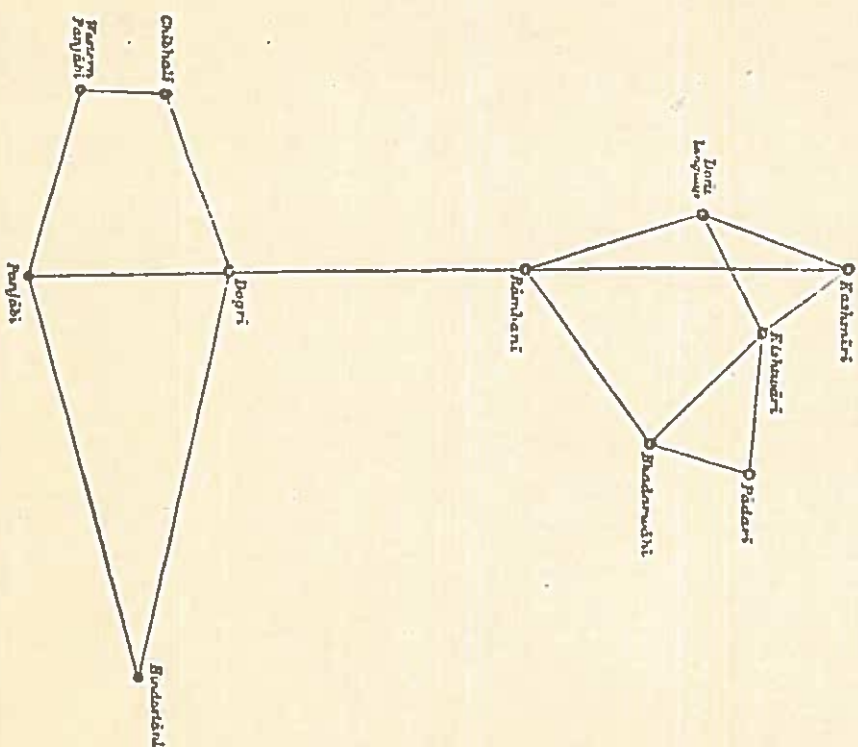


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CERTAIN LANGUAGES.

Some of the most striking differences between Chibhālī and Western Panjābi on the one hand, and Dogri or Panjābi on the other, consist in the use of *mā*, *nē*, and *nī* in the genitive instead of

* In this word the *l* and the *r* are both cerebral.

dā, de, and di; and in the termination of the present participle, which seems always to be *nā*, while in Hindostāni it would be *tā* and in Dogri and Panjābi *nā*. Also there is a tendency for the vowel *a* (short) to become in Chibhālī *u* (short). Thus—

Dogri: lakṛī, wood.	Chibhālī: lakṛī.
" chham, water/fall.	" chham.
" chahā, to go on.	" jahā.

The change from Dogri to Chibhālī in the hills corresponds with that from Panjābi to Western Panjābi in the plains; but there is less difference between Chibhālī and Western Panjābi than there is between Dogri and Panjābi. These relationships (and others that will be spoken of farther on) I have tried to illustrate by the diagram on the preceding page, in which the length of the lines joining the points marking the various dialects is intended to represent proportionately the differences between them.

The lower part shows Dogri and Panjābi equidistant from Hindostāni, and at a less distance from each other than either is from Hindostāni. Chibhālī and Western Panjābi are shown at equal distances respectively from Dogri and Panjābi, but with a less distance between them than there is between those two.

THE PAHARI DIALECTS AND KASHMIRI.

Those philologists who have paid attention to the Kashmiri language have found it one of great interest, for its elaborate inflexions and for the relation, both in vocabulary and grammar, which it bears to the Sanskrit. It is still, however, as regards its construction, so little known that there is a probable yield of more material of value and interest for anyone who should, equipped with the requisite philological knowledge, seriously undertake the analysis of it. I subjoin in a note a list of the writings on the Kashmiri language, chiefly vocabularies, that have been published.*

* Grammar and Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language, by M. P. Edgeworth. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. x, pt. ii, 1841, p. 1038.

A Grammar of the Cashmiree Language, by Major Leech. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, vol. xiii, pt. i, 1844, p. 897.

I myself never learned to speak Kashmiri; it is never heard in the Jummoo darbar; for the purposes of a traveller through Kashmir either Hindostāni or Panjābi will serve; since Kashmiri is a language not easily acquired, one is not likely to meet *r* it who is not for long tied to Kashmir proper. Having allowed this, it may seem presumptuous for me to say anything about the connection of Kashmiri with other languages; but there are some characteristics of it so marked that they can be traced by one who knows a few words of it, and since I believe that in travelling over little-frequented parts I have been able to find out certain facts of interest connected with the subject, I shall not refrain from stating them.

Kashmiri has hitherto been spoken of as a language quite by itself, unlike any other spoken tongue, and not allied, except in the distant way in which all the Aryan tongues of India are allied to one another, with any neighbouring speech. But in travelling in the Middle Mountain region I found several dialects (which I have classed together under the name *Pahāri*) allied in different degrees to Kashmiri, having, in these differing degrees, those characteristics by which Kashmiri is so easily recognised. These intermediate dialects are Rāmbanī, Bhadarwāhī, Pāhart, the language of Doda, and Kishtwārī. There is a gradual passage to be traced from Dogri (which we saw to be closely allied with the Hindi dialects of the plains of India) up through these Pahari dialects to Kashmiri. Rāmbanī may be taken as the half-way stage between Dogri and Kashmiri; while Bhadarwāhī, Pāhart, the Doda language, and Kishtwārī show marked advances from that stage towards Kashmiri.

The vocabularies in Appendix II. will illustrate this to a certain extent. Some of the most noticeable characters of Kashmiri are the possession of the sound *z* and the use of it where a

A Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language, by L. Dowling. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 227.

List of Kashmiri Words, by Dr. W. J. Elmalle. Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 36.

Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language, by Dr. Elmalle. London: Church Missionary House, 1872.

Hindi dialect would have *j*, and of the sound *s* where in Hindi there would be *ch*. These occur to some degree in all the above dialects. I am not able to any extent to compare their structures,* but something can be gathered from the way in which natives of the different parts find the other dialects to be comprehensible or incomprehensible; from observations on this I infer that Rāmānī is about equidistant from Kāshmirī and Dogrī and is not to be understood either by a Dogrī or by a native of Kāshmir who has had no experience of any other Pūhārī dialect. Those dialects, as of Doda or Kishitwār, which are between Rāmānī and Kāshmirī, may be understood by a Kāshmirī, and possibly also by a native of Rāmān. If the reader will refer again to the diagram on p. 465 he will see an attempt to express all this graphically. There the length of the line between Dogrī and Rāmānī equals that between Rāmānī and Kāshmirī. The group of five dialects above are more closely allied together. Of course this diagram is but tentative; if one knew accurately the proportion of the differences between any set of languages it might, in order to represent them diagrammatically, be necessary to construct a *solid diagram*, which would, more completely than one made on the flat, illustrate the relationships in all directions; such a diagram again might be stereoscopically presented.

DARD DIALECTS.

In Dr. Leitner's 'Dardistān,' before quoted, are vocabularies, phrases, and a comparative grammar that give an insight into the character of several of the Dard dialects. I am unable to add anything to his information. All I can do is to put (as I have done in Appendix II.) those words which were used to compare the other languages into the dialects of the Dard language which I have had an opportunity of hearing. This I have done from my own observations; on comparing the words as I took them down with the same picked out from Dr. Leitner's vocabularies, &c.,

* A few phrases in Rāmānī and Bhadranāhī will be found in Appendix III. The English of them is from the model phrases recommended by Sir George Campbell. See *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1866.

I find them to differ exceedingly little when allowance has been made for the different system (chiefly affecting the consonants) according to which he has written them.

The three Dard dialects of which some words are given in the Appendix are those of Astor, Gilgit, and Dāh. The Astor dialect includes or coincides with the speech of Dās and of Gurez; I had made separate lists in those two valleys, but find them so nearly to agree with what is spoken in Astor that it did not seem worth while to print them.

What I have given of the Dāh dialect is new. That place, it will be remembered, is inhabited by Dāds who have become Buddhist; from their complete (and probably early) separation from other Dard communities one would expect differences in their language. In the vocabulary given some are to be observed, but I confess that this is too meagre to be of much value, only the drawing attention to this separate dialect may be of some use.

THE TIBETAN.

Of the varieties of the Tibetan language spoken in these territories I have in the list named but two, that spoken by the Chāmpās, or nomads, and that of the settled Ladākhīs. There are, I believe, local differences within this latter division; the Zānskar people speak somewhat differently, and also the people in the neighbourhood of Kargil; but I am not able to give any detailed information on this subject.

The Tibetan has been so thoroughly studied that the best thing I can do here is to name some of the publications which might best, or most easily, be consulted by anyone wishing to acquire a knowledge of it. These are:

A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English, by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Calcutta, 1834.

Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English, by A. Csoma de Kőrös. Calcutta, 1834.

A Short Practical Grammar of the Tibetan Language, with special reference to the Spoken Dialects, by H. A. Jaeschke. Kvelang, 1865.

A Tibetan Dictionary, by the last author, in the Roman character, has also, I believe, been published.

USE OF PERSIAN.

With all these different languages current in the territories it can be understood that in carrying on the Government some difficulties occur through their variety. It is not easy to say whether these difficulties have been increased or lessened by the use for official documents of yet another tongue, one not spoken in any part of those territories either by the commonalty or as the Court language. The official written language is Persian.* Orders given by the Maharaja are written in Persian—character and language. In the British province of the Panjāb the Persian character is employed for writing the Hindostāni language, but here in Jummo none of the vernaculars are written in that character, the Persian language itself is employed. Under the Maharaja the Government accounts are kept in Persian, and in almost every case that language is the medium of official communication, though it is true that the Dogri, as will be shown below, is in some cases used.

Though Persian is so commonly written that who would aspire to an office of any estimation must become familiar with it, yet it is very seldom spoken in Jummo, only, indeed, when some trader or other traveller from Kābul or from Yārkand comes, unacquainted with our familiar dialects, and makes himself understood with Persian, which is the French of Asia.

This use of Persian for Government writings is to be traced back to the Court of the Delhi Emperors. There Persian had always been the polite, and it remained to the last the official language; for long had it been the practice of those classes of men who were likely to have a hand in the civil affairs of Government early to acquire Persian, and so, on the formation of Ranjit Singh's kingdom in the Panjāb, it naturally became the official written language of his Court, although Ranjit Singh himself was unacquainted with it. Persian still had that position when the British came into the

* Persian is called in India by the names *Farsi* and *Urmi*.

Panjāb, and it held its place for some little time after, until the system was changed to that in use in the North-west Provinces, where the Persian alphabet is used for the Hindostāni dialect—a plan that has evident advantages (since Hindostāni is becoming familiarly spoken by many of the Panjāb people), advantages which would be increased were the writers of Hindostāni to make use of a less elaborate idiom and less recondite words. The adoption of Persian in the Jummo Court came about from similar causes; but I cannot say whether its use dates from an earlier period or from the time of the connection of the country with Ranjit Singh's Court.

WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

Besides the Persian character, which in these territories is hardly ever applied to any but the Persian language, there are three written characters used for the languages here spoken. These are Dogri, Kashmiri, and Tibetan. They are all derived from the Devanāgarī or Shāsterī, the character in which Sanskrit is written.

In its old form the Dogri alphabet was imperfect and not easy to read either accurately or quickly. For this reason, a few years ago, the Maharaja caused to be invented a modification of it; by this it was brought nearer to Devanāgarī, so near that the system is quite one with that, though the forms are somewhat different. It may be questioned whether it would not have been better to adopt the Devanāgarī alphabet itself, which is known to certain classes all over India; the difference already made is so great as to keep those who have learnt but one of the two Dogri alphabets from being able to read in the other. However, the subject of what is the best alphabet to make general is a wide one, and must be considered in connection with the question of what dialect is to prevail and what languages are to be generally taught.* The

* With a mixed population of Hindūs and Muhammadans, such as occurs in the Maharaja's country no less than in the British, it is difficult to pitch upon an alphabet likely to be willingly adopted by people of both religions. All those alphabets which are founded on Devanāgarī are disliked by the Muhammadans as being the vehicle by which Hindu idolatry is taught. Hindūs often fear to have their sons taught

New Dogri is used for the petitions that are read before the Maharaja; for this purpose it has replaced Persian, in which petitions were written when I first came to Jummoo; but it has not generally displaced either Persian or the Old Dogri. The Old Dogri character is made use of only for writing the Dogri language; it is allowed in certain official documents, as in reports from officers of the army, who are of a class by whom Persian is hardly ever acquired; also many accounts are kept in duplicate—in Persian and Dogri; the accountants of one class are considered a check on the others, a continuous side-by-side system of audit being thus carried out.

Chibhali is an unwritten dialect. This is accounted for by the reason that the Chibhals, being Muhammadans, will not learn the use of the Dogri character, in which their own dialect might be written, but, if they learn anything, learn Persian, both writing and language; and the Persian writing does not well fit, and has never been used, for these dialects. But since for a knowledge of the Persian alphabet and language an amount of time must be spent beyond what most of the people can afford, the Chibhals are far more illiterate than their Hindû neighbours the Dogras.

None of the Pahārī dialects are written. Kashmiri is written, but seldom only. There is, as before said, an alphabet fitted to it, founded on the Devanāgarī, but this is almost entirely disused; Kashmiri is sometimes, but not I think often, written in the Persian character; Kashmiris of any education—whether they be Mussulman or Hindû—are sure to know the Persian lan-

to know Persian, since with the alphabet and language the children are sure to acquire something of the tone of its literature, which may give them a tendency towards Muhammadanism. In my opinion, the best cure, in the present state of both British India and the Maharaja's territories, is to be found in the adoption of the Roman character for whatever languages are used. It has been proved to be very applicable to all the Hindi dialects and to the Persian and Arabic words that are found in Hindostani. It is quicker to write than the Devanāgarī, and better to read than the Persian, and it can much more easily be put in type than either. And it is not so essentially "Christian" as to hurt the susceptibilities of people of the other faiths.

I may here draw attention to a paper on the subject of the applicability of the Roman alphabet to the languages of India which I read before the Society of Arts. It will be found in the Journal of that Society for February 19, 1875.

guage, and they seem to prefer communicating in writing by that medium.

None of the Dard dialects are ever written.

Of the people who speak Tibetan, the Balis are without an alphabet by which to write their own language. For reasons exactly parallel to those explained as affecting the Chibhals, the introduction of Muhammadanism has made the Balis also more illiterate. The Champās not often learn to write. The Ladākhīs, as before told, very commonly are able to write their own language in the Tibetan character well and freely.

These alphabets are used by natives of the country; four have been enumerated, viz. Persian, Dogri, Kashmiri, and Tibetan. People who come to Jummoo from other parts not uncommonly have some other character which they write, specially applicable probably to the vernacular of their native place. Thus Sikhs from the Panjāb have their Gurmukhī writing, Hindūs from the centre of Hindostan will write either in Devanāgarī or in some allied form of character, Bangālīs will have their own Bangālī writing, and so on. I have known, besides the four first mentioned, as many as seven other alphabets in use by people who have settled at Jummoo.